

The University of Chicago

URBANIZATION AND
THE ORGANIZATION OF WELFARE
ACTIVITIES IN THE METROPOLI-
TAN COMMUNITY OF CHICAGO

A PART OF A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF THE DIVISION OF THE
SOCIAL SCIENCES IN CANDIDACY FOR THE
DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY
AUGUST, 1940

By
ARTHUR HILLMAN

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

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PREFATORY NOTE

In the following pages Chapters V, IX, and XV, constituting the essential portion of the dissertation, are reproduced. That the scope of the study may be indicated, there is included also the Table of Contents of the complete dissertation, which may be found in The University of Chicago Libraries.



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CHAPTER V

THE PEOPLE ON RELIEF

Reference has been made, in considering the increasing volume of public responsibility for welfare services, to the fact that more than one out of four persons in Chicago were dependent on relief at some time during the years 1934 through 1937. This fact, together with the data to be presented on the geographic distribution and social characteristics of the 1935 relief population,¹ should contest any belief that the poor of the city in a severe depression are markedly different from their neighbors. The tendency to speak of the relief population in the mass tends to obscure the difference between members of that group at any one time and to overlook the fact that they represent a wide variety of social characteristics.

The differential incidence of economic deprivation may be explained in large part as the result of social-economic factors which adversely affect certain occupational, age, and racial groups. Persons working in occupations and industries the demand

¹The data used herein based on a one-sixth sample of the Chicago relief population as of February 28, 1935, together with new cases added during May and June, 1935, were prepared in a Works Progress Administration project (no. 3395-3540) supervised by Melvin L. Dollar, under the direction of Professor Louis Wirth. These data have not been published. The writer is responsible for the general interpretations and some manipulation of the data as presented here. Data on occupational trends in the experience of the relief group are available from the same source.

The total relief population represented by this study was 494,814. See Appendix Table 25 for tabulation of total numbers on relief by months from the end of 1933 to the end of 1939, together with the number of workers on Works Progress Administration projects starting in 1935 through 1939. It will be noted that the WPA employment had not gotten under way in the early part of 1935 when the survey from which data are cited was made.

In the absence of large-scale data on characteristics of recipients of social services generally, these data may be taken

for whose products is first and most severely curtailed in a time of depression, such as building or capital goods industries, are most likely to be unemployed; the same is true of industries that fluctuate with consumer purchasing power. This also is the case with workers who because of minority group status, older age, or lack of skill, suffer most in competition when work opportunities are limited. While laying special stress on certain major factors, such as those mentioned, one can also recognize other similar social-economic elements in the situation of the individual. This is directly contrary to the popular view that the individual on relief is responsible for his own plight, which is reflected and supported by newspaper characterizations of the unemployed as "the idle" in the sense of being wilfully shiftless. The unique combination of factors together with "chance" elements in any given case may tend to make an explanation of unemployment in terms of personal effort and individual responsibility acceptable to the individual concerned or to the superficial observer.

The accompanying map showing the percentage of the population on relief in 1935 supplements other studies of the spatial pattern of disorganization in Chicago, which indicate the social gradients of the city.¹ The concentration of the relief population near the center of the city and around the stockyards is indirectly a measure of the effect of the social-economic factors mentioned above, since the areas with high relief rates are predominantly those of foreign-born and Negro residents and unskilled workers generally. The percentage of the total population on relief in 1935 was fifteen, whereas in several local community areas more than 25 per cent of the population were included in

as representative of a large proportion of those who have received relief as well as the services of some other agencies.

See chap. xiii for further data on Chicago relief population, presented as a part of comparisons with other cities.

¹Louis Wirth and Margaret Furez, Local Community Fact Book, 1938 (Chicago: Chicago Recreation Commission, 1938).

PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL POPULATION
ON RELIEF FEBRUARY THROUGH MAY, 1935.
BY COMMUNITY AREA. (BASED ON 1934 CENSUS)

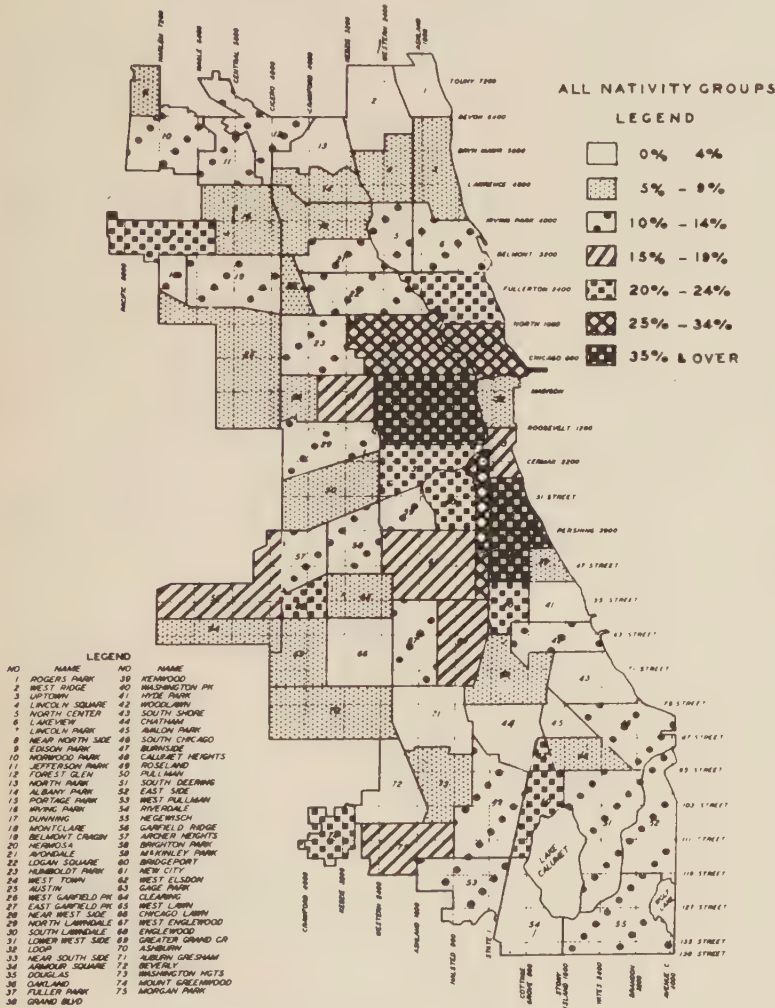


Fig. 1

that group: 8, 24, 28, 31, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38.

High rates in the Negro areas are a measure of the economic disadvantages experienced by this minority group, of whom it is often said that "they are the last to be hired and the first to be fired."¹ Differences within the Negro district are apparent in the lower rates in the southern end where the more advantaged Negroes live.

Some caution must be observed in the interpretation of the data shown on the map. The location of relief recipients is indirectly a measure of the distribution of low rent dwellings. Persons on relief in Chicago in 1935 were receiving allowances for rent in limited amounts and their residence while on relief is not necessarily the same as when regularly employed.

About 14 per cent of the foreign born according to the 1934 census were on relief in 1935, as compared with 15 per cent of the total population enumerated in the same census. That the foreign-born were underenumerated in the special 1934 Chicago census is recognized by those who have attempted to reconcile it with the 1930 federal census data. This would detract from the validity of comparisons of rates for the foreign born and the rest of the population. If a correction could be made for the underenumeration of the foreign born in 1934, the percentage of foreign born persons on relief in 1935 would be correspondingly reduced, assuming that the information on nativity in the relief survey to be relatively accurate.

Since the 1930 census is not recent enough to make possible direct comparisons with relief population data, no attempt is made to compile rates by nationality groups of persons on re-

¹Horace Cayton and George Mitchell, Black Workers and the New Unions (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1939); also Alfred Edgar Smith, "The Negro and Relief," Monthly

lief. The following lists offer a rough comparison between the relief and general population. They are a comparison of the relative order of nationalities in the foreign-born total population of 1930 and the 1935 relief population. The correspondence in order is striking, with most of the variations of only one place in rank. Austria, eighth in relief and eleventh in the general population, and Italy, in second and fourth places respectively, are the only marked deviations in rank order. These can perhaps be accounted for by the recency in immigration from these countries.

TABLE 4

RANK ORDER OF NATIONALITIES IN CHICAGO IN 1930 CENSUS
AND 1935 SURVEY OF RELIEF POPULATION, BY PLACE
OF BIRTH OF FOREIGN-BORN POPULATION

1930 Census	1935 Relief Survey
1. Poland	1. Poland
2. Germany	2. Italy
3. Russia	3. Germany
4. Italy	4. Russia
5. Sweden	5. Sweden
6. Ireland	6. Czechoslovakia
7. Czechoslovakia	7. Ireland
8. Lithuania	8. Austria
9. Canada	9. Lithuania
10. England and Wales	10. Canada
11. Austria	11. England and Wales
12. Norway	12. Norway

Report of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, March, 1936, pp. 10-17.

While the foreign-born are not disproportionately represented in the relief population of 1935, which is in part a measure of their assimilation in the community, the same cannot be said for the Negroes in Chicago. Nearly 44 per cent of the Negroes in the city, according to the 1934 census, were on relief in 1935. If, as seems evident, there was an under-enumeration of Negroes in 1935, the rate of persons on relief would be reduced. However, the proportion of Negroes on relief is high, which further substantiates the statement made about the economic handicaps of this minority group.

The median grade completed in school for the relief population of 1935 was 7.01 and for the Chicago population in general in 1934 was 8.09. These data include only persons eighteen years of age and over. This difference seems to be accounted for by a concentration in those areas where the median general education is low, because there is a high correlation between the median grade completed in the general and in the relief populations by local communities.¹ This seems to indicate that for any given community the relief population represents a cross-section of the population as far as education is concerned.

An analysis of median grade completed in school by occupations for specific age groups reveals a higher median for the age group 16-24 than for the ages 25-44 and over, except for professional persons where the median is highest in the middle of the three age groups; the category of semi-professional and recreational workers, telephone, telegraph, and radio operators has about equal medians in the lowest and highest age groups. For all ages the median is higher for professional persons than for

¹ x = median grade completed, general population; y = median grade, 1935 relief population, both by local communities, for population 18 years of age and over. $r_{xy} = .80$

semi-professional workers, clerical workers, and sales people, for which in turn the medians are higher than for the proprietors, managers and officials, skilled and semi-skilled workers. Servants and allied workers and unskilled workers have the lowest median grade completed.

A measure of the steadiness of employment of the relief population is available in the next chart showing the averages in longest time employed in one position by nativity, color, sex and age. For workers over forty-five years of age, the average approximates ten years. Foreign born males in all age groups had had longer average time in one position than have the native born or Negroes. Comparable data are not available on the employment records of persons not on relief. However, it is evident that the 1935 relief population included many workers with stable employment records.

Further evidence of the fact that those on relief in 1935 were not entirely a marginal group can be cited in the data on the number of months elapsing between the date of termination of the last regular job held prior to going on relief and the date of the first application for relief. One-fourth of all the workers in Chicago in 1935 held out for two years or more, while the rest are about equally divided between those who went on relief during the first six months of unemployment and those who were unemployed for six to twenty-four months. These data do not include all part-time jobs and therefore should not be taken to mean these workers and their families subsisted entirely on their own resources during these periods. Allowing, however, for some odd jobs these data do indicate that many of the workers had some reserves in the form of savings or credit status. The length of time elapsing between the termination of employment and apply-

LONGEST TIME EMPLOYED IN ONE POSITION
BY NATIVITY OR COLOR, SEX AND AGE.
CHICAGO RELIEF POPULATION,
FEBRUARY THROUGH MAY, 1935.

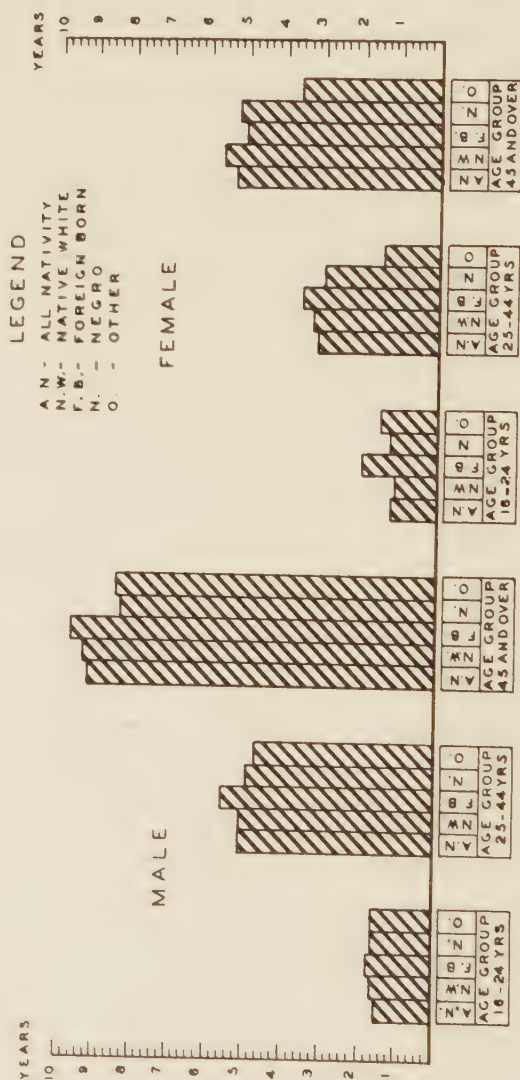


Fig. 2

ing for relief is understandable not only because of the reluctance of many workers to accept relief except as a last resort, but also because of the investigations that are made by the relief administrators to discover available personal resources that make an applicant ineligible.¹

Some differences are apparent between occupational groups in this measure of "resistance" to relief. Whereas for all workers who were on relief in 1935, 25.5 per cent were unemployed two years or more before applying for relief, 30.3 per cent of professional people were in this category, but only 22.3 per cent of sales people and of servants and allied workers. Workers classified as proprietors, managers, and officials are also comparatively low in the percentage who were unemployed two years or more before seeking relief, but this occupational category includes many small, independent shopkeepers and junk dealers with a poorer economic status than the general heading might indicate.²

¹Wayne McMillen, "Client 'Fraud' in Chicago," Social Service Review, XIV (1940), 36-60. This study of the procedures for ascertaining resources of the client as well as of the prosecution of fraud and the amount of voluntary restitution definitely deflates the rumors that have frequently been circulating about the amount of fraud in relief. A special study of fraud cases prosecuted showed that even among these, many incurred debt prior to applying for relief.

²A degree of insecurity in the general population comparable to the experience of the relief population cited is suggested by a recent poll by the American Institute of Public Opinion, reported in an article by George Gallup, Chicago Daily News, April 3, 1939. The following question was asked of a cross-section of persons in the United States, exclusive of farmers: "If you lost your present job (or business) and could not find other work, how long do you think you could hold out before you would have to apply for relief?" 19 per cent could hold out one month or less and an additional 16 per cent, from one to six months, according to their own estimates. Relatively secure are the 13 per cent who said they could hold out from six months to three years and the 35 per cent who could hold out longer. The remaining 17 per cent are made up of those persons already on relief. A person's estimate of his ability to maintain himself on his own resources may not correspond to his actual experience in the event of being out of a job, but nevertheless what people say their prospects are is important in itself. The economic insecurity that is prevalent, as

These data from the early part of 1935, it must be noted, apply to the relief population at a time before the Works Progress Administration program was developed to provide employment for large numbers in lieu of relief, as indicated in Appendix Table 25. As a result of this development, the relief rolls in Chicago came to include a large proportion of unemployables, although because of the limitations of the WPA program, there were many persons able to work who remained on relief. The distinction between employability is difficult to make, but using the definition that "an employable person is defined as one between eighteen and sixty-four years of age who is working or able to work, who is not engaged in the care of a family or not attending school and whose health or behavior habits are of such a nature that employment would not be detrimental to his health or safety or to the health or safety of others who would be associated with him" and that unemployable cases are by definition those without any employable persons, a survey of cases on the Chicago Relief Administration rolls showed that between fifty and sixty per cent of the cases were unemployable between September, 1936, and May, 1937.¹

It is the unemployable cases which form a relatively stable residue in the relief load even with upturns in employment.

The proportion of unemployable cases to the total relief load is greater now than during the first five years of the depression and it would seem that the proportion will continue to increase the longer cases remain on the relief rolls. The casting into discard of the more mature workers, the loss of skill because of continuous unemployment and the decrease in demand for particular skills due to technological changes in industry are contributing factors in the increasing importance of the unemployable cases as a part of the total relief load.²

as indicated in part by these data, tends to substantiate the main point in this chapter that the unemployed are by and large representative of the general population in social characteristics.

¹Chicago Relief Administration, "Preliminary Report on Unemployable Cases Open on the Chicago Relief Administration Rolls May 15, 1937" (Mimeographed report dated Aug. 12, 1937).

²Ibid., A comparison of the Cook County relief load with

that of the rest of the state of Illinois indicates that the former is more stable. Between January, 1934, and July, 1936, the ratio of the number of cases closed to the monthly average number of cases carried forward was 2.4 in Cook County and 4.2 in the down-state counties.

"Greater turnover in the down-state relief load compared with that of Cook County may be due in part to the emergent, but often only temporary, situations created by drought and other adverse agricultural conditions. Self-rehabilitation by down-state families is often possible, if only for seasonal or other short-time periods, because of recurring opportunities for economic independence. In Cook County, on the other hand, the more stabilized case load would seem to indicate a larger proportion of constant dependents who find it difficult to rehabilitate themselves after their resources have once been exhausted." Biennial Report of the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission, July 1, 1934, through June 30, 1936, pp. 43-44.

CHAPTER IX

THE COMPOSITION OF SOCIAL AGENCY BOARDS AND THEIR PARTICIPATION IN THE CONTROL OF SOCIAL WORK

Membership on Social Agency Boards

The formal control of social services sponsored by voluntary associations is usually vested in boards of directors or trustees. Membership on such boards is sometimes earned by virtue of service to the organization. Board members are also chosen because of their special experience and abilities which the organization wishes to have at its service. Other persons are included on boards because of their representativeness of general community interests or of institutions such as the church which have a direct relationship to organized social work. A great many persons are sought as members of boards because of their prestige and their ability to give substantial financial support. In any urban community there are a number of impressive names which are symbols of prestige for any organization which can add them to their letter-head and are also, at least potentially, large contributors. For others, board membership is a means of acquiring prestige through association with recognized community leaders.

From what sections of the community are these persons drawn? One of the outstanding social work executives in Chicago says that the "best people" do not manage the charities of the city. Many of the "elite" in his estimation, are indifferent to the work of social agencies and even when they are members of boards, the bulk of the work is carried on by mediocre people.¹

¹Interview; identity obviously cannot be disclosed.

However, if the "best people" are not personally active in the management of social work they may wish to have the services performed and their interests are often represented by lawyers and others who act as agents of people of wealth and influence in other capacities.

This raises the question of the motives and pressures which impel people to take an active interest in the work of voluntary social service agencies. Sympathy and kindness in the face of human need is generally regarded as an element in "common decency" and "the man without a generous impulse is abnormal and abhorrent."¹ However, it is difficult for social agencies working under conditions of urban impersonality to bank very strongly on this trait of sympathy. Persons who support social agencies and those who help to manage them do not themselves as a rule come into direct contact with actual cases of suffering or need, and the problems they are asked to face in policy forming groups are often stripped of any emotional contact. A motivating factor for many, especially in older cities, is a family tradition of service to the community or to particular agencies which are being maintained, which was perhaps begun under less impersonal conditions.

In the midst of the business world, where production, efficiency and gain are held at a premium, charity often appears as a concession to weakness.² Charity has not been thought of as a virile virtue and responsibility for it has been left to women, zealots, clergymen and others of the "welfare priesthood." However, with the stress on business methods, especially in fund

¹George H. Mead, in E. Faris, et al. (eds.), Intelligent Philanthropy (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930), p. 133.

²Kenneth Burke, Permanence and Change (New York: The New Republic, 1936), pp. 221-2.

raising and with the problem of financing of public social services increasingly acute, modern social work has come to enlist the active support of doers from the world of commerce and industry. Also, with the accumulation of large surpluses of wealth not needed for purposes of reinvestment, there has come the beginning of a "rudimentary social consciousness" on the part of the wealthy or, "if a less polite phrase is wanted, the beginning of a guilt feeling."¹

Some volunteers and board members share the motives and point of view of professional workers. With the growth of social work as a profession, there has been a marked change in the motive of persons actively engaged in the field. "Doing good" and "uplift" are being replaced by a kind of "sporting interest" which looks upon the job to be done as an adventure.²

Study of Board Membership

The board membership of social agencies in Chicago has been studied with special reference to the extent of activity, the occupational and social affiliations and the residence of board members. A total of 4,786 persons serving on the boards of 290 agencies in 1937 are included in the study. All the agencies which are members of the Council of Social Agencies with a few exceptions are included.³ The following public agencies are

¹Eduard C. Lindeman, Wealth and Culture (New York: Harcourt Brace Co., 1936), pp. 4-5.

²Amos G. Warner, Stuart A. Queen, and E. B. Harper, American Charities and Social Work (New York: Crowell and Co., 1930), p. 561.

³The following agencies which are members of the Council of Social Agencies are not included because their work is not of the same sort as agencies giving direct service: George Williams College; Loyola University School of Social Work; School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago; Illinois Conference of Social Welfare; Cook County School of Nursing; Cook County League of Women Voters; Chicago Dental Society; Chicago

members of the Council of Social Agencies and their board members are accordingly included in this study: Chicago Board of Education, Chicago Board of Health, Cook County Bureau of Public Welfare, Illinois State Employment Service, and the Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium.¹ However, most of the discussion applies to private agencies.

The Chicago Association of Commerce through its Subscriptions Investigating Committee, endorses each year for public support a number of social agencies. Some of those endorsed are members of the Council of Social Agencies and others which are not were added to the names obtained through the Council.² Of the agencies included, 182 are members of the Council of Social Agencies, 252 are endorsed by the Chicago Association of Commerce, and 143 are in both groups. Membership in the Council of Social Agencies or endorsement by the Chicago Association of Commerce, or a combination of the two, qualifies an agency to be regarded as one which, in short, is an agency which is a part of the recognized community program or is making an appeal for support of citizens of Chicago and vicinity.

Appendix Table 32 indicates the extent of over-lapping within the board membership of the Chicago social agencies. Of the total number of board members, almost 4,200 or 87 per cent are members of one agency board only. Almost 97 per cent are members

Medical Society and International Harvester Company.

¹The Chicago Relief Administration became a member of the Council in the early part of 1939.

²See Chap. vi on work of Council of Social Agencies and Association of Commerce. The following agencies endorsed by the Association of Commerce were not included because their work is not strictly of a social service nature: Chicago Sunday Evening Club, Chicago Public School Art Society, Civic Music Association of Chicago, Civic Federation and Bureau of Public Efficiency, and Legislative Voters League of Illinois.

of one or two boards only. A total of fifty-eight persons are members of four or more boards. The extreme of seven board memberships is the case of a man who represents denominational interests in an ex-officio capacity on settlement boards. It is apparent from these data that the amount of over-lapping or interlocking is not especially great. The general opinion as expressed by social work executives in Chicago to the writer seems to have been that there is more over-lapping of boards than actually exists.¹

Agencies endorsed by the Chicago Association of Commerce submit annually a report on their organization and operations. From these reports have been obtained information on the number of meetings held by board members, trustees, and directors, which is given in the Appendix Table 33.² The most common practice is for boards to meet monthly. About half of the boards meet monthly, or monthly except for two or three months, usually skipping the summer season.

Those that report meeting only once a year are the following: American National Red Cross, Cathedral Shelter, Catholic Home Bureau of Chicago, Chicago Memorial Hospital, and the Northwestern University Settlement Association.

The meetings held by boards are not a complete measure of the activity of members of the control bodies of social agencies.

¹These findings are borne out by a similar study of the membership of boards of sixty Los Angeles welfare agencies, where only ninety out of a total of 887 persons were found to serve on more than one board. T. J. Hicks, "An Analysis of the Directorates of Sixty Los Angeles Welfare Agencies" (Unpublished Master's thesis, School of Social Work, University of Southern California, 1936).

²A more significant indication of the extent of active participation of board members is their attendance at meetings. This could, however, not be obtained in many cases because it would necessitate having access to minute books which are usually considered confidential.

A number have executive committees or financial committees which meet regularly. The frequency of these meetings is also shown in Appendix Table 33. In addition to these meetings there are often special committees formed on which more active board members serve. However, the fact that the usual pattern is to have monthly or less frequent meetings indicates that the major responsibility in administration is carried by agency executives and staffs.

Over-lapping between Boards and Other Organizations

The relationship of social institutions within the city can be known by a comparison of over-lapping of board memberships, the assumption being that persons expressing one interest through membership in an organization will not completely forget or be divorced from that interest or function when they are members of another association. The social agency board member group which may be taken as representative of the community support of social welfare agencies is obviously cut across by various functional interests, some of which are here presented. While the situation found to exist resembles the intricate web of inter-locking directorates of corporations no inferences need be drawn in this study about concentration of power for selfish purposes. The attempt here is rather to contribute to an understanding of urban institutional relationships and general community leadership.

The membership of the Chicago Association of Commerce which totals several thousand, represents many interests. Included in this membership are both commercial and professional people. The work of the association is carried on by numerous committees, with some of the members included on more than one committee. Table 8 indicates the number of members of social agency boards who are also members of committees of the Chicago Association of Commerce.

TABLE 8

NUMBER OF SOCIAL AGENCY BOARD MEMBERSHIPS AND CHICAGO
ASSOCIATION OF COMMERCE COMMITTEE MEMBERSHIPS
HELD BY THE SAME INDIVIDUALS: 1937

Number of Association of Commerce Committee Memberships	Number of Social Agency Board Memberships						Total
	1	2	3	4	5	6	
1	66	13	9	3	1	.	92
2	13	4	2	3	.	.	22
3	9	1	3	.	.	1	14
4	3	1	.	.	.	.	4
5	2	1	.	.	.	.	3
6	1	.	.	.	.	1	2
Total	94	20	14	6	1	2	137

Of the total of 1,002 members of Chicago Association of Commerce committees, 137 or 14 per cent are also members of social agency boards. About half are members of only one board and one committee. Forty-five persons are members of a combined total of four or more boards and committees. The record for these two types of service is held by a banker who is a member of six committees and six boards. Of the total of 4,786 board members only 3 per cent are also members of Association of Commerce committees, whereas of the 58 persons who are members of four or more social agency boards, nine are also members of Association of Commerce committees; the higher percentage in the latter case tends to substantiate the point that certain individuals are sought for many places because of their general prestige.

The Commercial Club of Chicago is a much smaller select group than the Association of Commerce. The membership is limited and members are elected by the present group. Of the total of

188 members whose names are given in the 1935-1936 year book, 117 are members of one or more social agency boards.¹ The boards on which Commercial Club members are found most frequently are the following:

American Red Cross	32
Community Fund of Chicago	15
United Charities	14
Presbyterian Hospital--City of Chicago	11
St. Lukes' Hospital	10
Committee of Fifteen	10
Children's Memorial Hospital	9
Public Health Institute	8
Boy Scouts of America	7
Y. M. C. A.	7
Cradle Society	6

From one to five Commercial Club members are on the boards of fifty other agencies. The relationship between social agencies and men of wealth and men of wealth and commercial influence is doubtless reciprocal. On the one hand the leading men of commerce and industry have some interest in supporting certain kinds of community enterprise, and on the other hand agencies seek the support of those persons. It is not surprising that the American Red Cross should have so many board members from the Commercial Club group. It is an organization of national prestige and military and patriotic associations. It has a broad base of support through the annual roll call and hence men of wealth need not shy away for fear of being expected to make large contributions. Another attraction for busy men is the fact that the board meets only once a year. The Community Fund, while it is a new organization, has the co-operation of the business men who see the economy of co-operative fund raising and whose support is also needed for giving it status in the community. The United Charities is a well established organization, having a general field of service which can

¹The Commercial Club of Chicago, Fifty-eighth Year Book, 1935-1936 (Chicago: Executive Committee of Commercial Club, 1936).

be expected to enlist substantial support. Three hospitals which have large investments are among the agencies which have more than five board members from the Commercial Club group.

The extent to which social workers are included on boards of social agencies is obviously not a complete measure of their influence in shaping policies, because the actual responsibility for the work done is theirs. They act as leaders and often become identified with the work of agencies to the over-shadowing of board members who are nominally in control. Of the total of 778 members of the American Association of Social Workers who live in the Chicago region only 34 are members of social agency boards.¹ It should be noted that not all employed secretaries and other workers in social agencies are members of the American Association of Social Workers. Therefore, the number actually engaged in the work of the agencies included in this study who are on the boards of their own or other agencies would be greater than the number who are members of the Association. The boards on which members of the American Association of Social Workers are found most frequently are the following:

Council of Social Agencies	11
Illinois Social Hygiene League	5
Community Fund of Chicago	4
Adult Education Council	3
Chicago Urban League	3
Immigrants' Protective League	3
Joint Service Bureau Clearing House	3

The boards of twenty-eight other agencies include one or two members of the American Association of Social Workers. In general, social workers are active on the boards of community organization agencies, in many cases representing their own work. They are also found on the boards of agencies engaged in newer and less

¹American Association of Social Workers, Directory, 1936.

popular types of work, such as adult education, race relations, and social hygiene.

Returning now to the table previously presented on the number of board memberships held by individuals, it is possible to analyze further the most active group. Of the fifty-eight who are members of four or more boards, seventeen are members of the Commercial Club and fifteen are social workers, ministers and others who serve on boards in an ex-officio capacity. Eight are women who are not engaged in professions, several of whom, however, are active in clubs. Three are professors in sociology or social service administration at the University of Chicago; three are judges; and one is an outstanding leader of the Negro community. This accounts for forty-seven of the fifty-eight most active members.

The Social Register of Chicago and vicinity includes instead of the proverbial "400" more than 3,300 names, not counting juniors. Of these, 609 or 18.3 per cent are members of social agency boards. It follows that participation in the work of social agencies is associated with prestige in polite society, as is also evident by the number of times benefits and other functions sponsored by charitable associations are mentioned on society pages of Chicago newspapers.¹ The distinction of being included in the Social Register is sometimes attained by climbers, the rungs of whose ladder are charities which are the pets of the "best people."²

¹Social Work Publicity Council of Chicago, I See by the Papers (Chicago, 1936).

²H. W. Zorbaugh, Gold Coast and the Slum (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1929), pp. 53, 61.

Occupations of Board Members

It was possible, by referring to the telephone directories, Who's Who in Chicago, and professional lists and directories, to obtain information on the occupations of almost half of the board members, or of their husbands and fathers in the case of women. Table 9 presents the occupational distribution, classifying most of the occupations into two large groups: commerce and industry, and professions. Into these two main categories fall in almost equal proportions the vast majority of the board members whom it was possible to identify. The principal group of those engaged in commerce and industry are managers and proprietors, mostly of large enterprises. Bankers and investment brokers and trustees constitute another large group. Among the professions, law, the ministry and medicine furnish the greatest number of board members. The same occupations lead when the wives and daughters of men thus engaged are considered.

The sex ratio of board members as indicated in the same table is also of interest. Men and women are represented almost equally. This is a contradiction of the popular notion that interest in social work is largely confined to idle women.¹

The persons whom it was not possible to identify occupationally from the sources used were in many cases members of the boards of small agencies operating in local areas such as the Cicero Welfare Association, or among nationalistic groups such as the Polish Welfare Association, and in religious agencies such as the Big Sisters. This was indicated by a random sample of the persons whose occupations are not known. It follows then that the larger community-wide organizations are controlled predominantly

¹In the Los Angeles study by Hicks, op. cit., men were found to predominate, the percentage of the sexes being 65.5 and 34.5.

TABLE 9

OCCUPATIONS OF BOARD MEMBERS, AND HUSBANDS AND FATHERS
OF BOARD MEMBERS OF CHICAGO SOCIAL AGENCIES: 1937

	Board Members Engaged in Oc- cupations	Wives and daugh- ters of Men in Occupations	Total	Per Cent of "Total Iden- tified"
Commerce and Industry				
Accountants	14	7		
Advertising and Publi- city Men	21	6		
Bankers	79	25		
Contractors	16	5		
Insurance Salesmen and Agents	57	19		
Investment Brokers and Trustees	75	48		
Managers and Proprietors	372	169		
General	134	...		
Large Stores and Entps.	84	...		
Manufacturers	51	...		
Packing House	18	...		
Printing	15	...		
Public Utilities	11	...		
Railroad Officials	16	...		
Small Stores and Entps.	30	...		
Steel	13	...		
Miscellaneous	16	14		
Real Estate Men	48	27		
Undertakers	11	...		
TOTAL	709	320	1,029	45.55
Professions				
Architects	19	10		
Clergymen	201	26		
Dentists	17	2		
Editors, Publishers and Journalists	17	15		
Engineers	19	16		
Health Workers	6	...		
Lawyers	259	109		
Miscellaneous	10	13		
Nuns	64	...		
Physicians	196	53		
Social Workers	31	5		
Teachers	49	17		
TOTAL	888	266	1,154	51.84

TABLE 9-Continued

	Board Members Engaged in Oc- cupations	Wives and Daugh- ters of Men in Occupations	Total	Per Cent of "Total Iden- tified"
Public Officials	28		28	1.26
Retired	19	11	30	1.35
Total Identified	1,644	597	2,241	100.00
Not Identified	746	1,799	2,545	
GRAND TOTAL	2,390	2,396	4,786	

by persons engaged in commerce and industry and in the professions.¹

Summarizing the data on the proportion of the members of various groups which are also members of boards of social agencies, we have the following comparative figures:

TABLE 10

PER CENT OF TOTAL MEMBERSHIP OF ORGANIZATIONS AND
OTHER GROUPS ON AGENCY BOARDS: 1937

Group	Total Membership	Membership on Social Agency Boards	Per Cent of Total Membership on Agency Boards
Commercial Club of Chicago	188	117	62
Social Register of Chicago and Vicinity	3,334	609	18
Committees of Chicago Association of Commerce	1,002	137	14
American Association of Social Workers (in Chicago region)	778	34	4
Clergymen	3,037 ^a	201	7
Lawyers, Judges and Justices	7,507 ^a	259	3
Physicians and Surgeons	6,727 ^a	196	3
School Superintendents and High School Administrators in region	127 ^b	3	2

^aU. S. Bureau of the Census, Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930. Population (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1933), total for Chicago, Berwyn, Cicero, Evanston, Maywood, Oak Park and Waukegan.

^bIllinois School Directory, 1935-1936 (Springfield, 1936).

¹The large number of doctors and lawyers on social agency boards is an indication not only of their personal and professional competence, but, without discounting their generous impulses, it may be accounted for in part as a legitimate form of professional advertising.

Residential Distribution of Board Members

The fact that board members of social agencies are not representative of a cross-section of the community is also indicated by an analysis of their places of residence. From the total of 4,786, the names of the persons were subtracted who are members of suburban agencies only such as: Berwyn Welfare Association, Oak Park and River Forest Day Nursery, and Winnetka Community House. The board members of the following state-wide agencies who live outside of the Chicago region were also excluded: Illinois Children's Home and Aid Society, Illinois Social Hygiene League, Illinois Society for Mental Hygiene, and Illinois Society for the Prevention of Blindness. This subtracted 222 names from the total used in previous tables. In the case of 435 others the residential address was not known. In the remaining groups there are 4,129 who are board members of agencies operating within the city of Chicago, including some institutions which are located outside of the city whose headquarters are here, and also including members of boards of state-wide agencies who live within the city.

Of this group, 2,859 live within the city and 1,199 or about 30 per cent live outside of the city but within the region. Seventy-one others live outside of the region. The following table gives the number living in each city in the region outside of Chicago. Nearly three-hundred live in Evanston and around one hundred and fifty each in Lake Forest, Oak Park and Winnetka. More than fifty live in Glencoe and Highland Park. These data serve to substantiate the reality of the metropolitan community. It seems strikingly significant that almost 1,200 people who live in surrounding cities and towns should take an active part in the work of social agencies that is carried on within the city of

TABLE 11

NUMBER AND RATES PER 10,000 OF SOCIAL AGENCY BOARD
MEMBERS RESIDING OUTSIDE OF CHICAGO: 1937

City	Number	Rates	City	Number	Rates
Addison	1		Kenilworth	20	105.8
Aurora	1		Kenosha, Wisc.	3	
Bannockburn	1		LaGrange	20	25.0
Barrington	9		Lake Bluff	11	106.8
Batavia	1		Lake Forest	173	317.0
Berwyn	17	4.8	Lake Villa	3	
Blue Island	1		Libertyville	3	
Charles	1		Lisle	1	
Cicero	7		Lombard	2	
Crystal Lake	1		Lyons	1	
Deerfield	1		Maywood	7	
De Kalb	4		Melrose Park	1	
Des Plaines	2		Mount Prospect	1	
Dolton	1		Naperville	2	
Downers Grove	4		Niles	2	
Dundee	1		North Brook	5	
Elgin	2		North Chicago	1	
Elmhurst	5		Oak Park	150	29.0
Evanston	283	57.6	Park Ridge	9	
Flossmoor	6		Ravinia	4	
Forest Park	3		River Forest	31	46.6
Geneva	7		Riverside	11	21.6
Glencoe	58	123.6	Summit	2	
Glen Ellyn	5		Villa Park	1	
Glenview	1		Waukegan	1	
Glenwood	1		Western Springs	4	
Golf	2		Wheaton	5	
Hammond, Ind.	1		Wilmette	46	40.0
Harvey	3		Wilson, Lake Co.	1	
Highland Park	63	69.1	Winnetka	137	151.6
Hinsdale	11	21.1	Woodhull	2	
Homewood	2		Woodland Park	1	
Hubbard Woods	22		Woodstock	3	
Joliet	7		Out of Region	71	
			TOTAL	1,270	

Chicago. This is obviously further proof of the increasing amount of social interaction in a geographical area that transcends the limits of municipal and other local governmental units.¹

¹This distribution corresponds with that of the residences of the leaders of the public life and activities in Chicago based on data from Gabriel Almond, cited by Lewis Copeland, "The Limits and Characteristics of Metropolitan Chicago" (Unpublished Master's thesis, Dept. of Sociology, University of Chicago, 1937), fig. 92.

The percentage of board members of Chicago social agencies living in some of the larger suburbs, expressed as a rate per 10,000 population 15 years of age and over, is also given in Table 11. The same rates are shown for community areas within the city of Chicago in the map which follows. The heavy concentration in the wealthier residential areas is not unexpected, but the fact that there are fourteen areas without any members of boards of social agencies is equally striking. These are areas of low incomes, with homes of industrial workers.¹

The composition of the board of the Community Fund is of significance because of its central position in the control of social work. The Community Fund of Chicago is governed by a board of 36 directors, half of whom are nominated by the Council of Social Agencies.² The by-laws direct that nine of those thus nominated shall be social workers, which gives the professional group greater recognition than in many joint financing organizations. Nine board members are nominated by the campaign committee and nine by the executive committee of the Fund. The representatives of the givers and of the social work profession each constitute half of the board of the Fund, according to its plan of organization. Actual control, however, is exercised by the executive committee of fifteen, elected by and from the board. On this committee business men are found to predominate. The executive committee appoints budget and campaign committees, and has the final power of approving allocations made by the budget committee.

Of the leaders living in the suburbs, all but twelve live to the west and north of the city.

¹Rates by communities on which map is based are given in Appendix, Table 34.

²Over one-half of the board members in 1937 lived in the North Shore suburbs and more than one-fourth in Lake Forest alone.

COMMUNITY AREAS OF CHICAGO

AS ADOPTED BY CENSUS BUREAU, 1930

BOARD MEMBERS OF CHICAGO

SOCIAL AGENCIES

1937

RATE PER 10,000
POP. 15 YRS. OF
AGE AND OVER

LEGEND



NO.	NAME	NO.	NAME
1	ROGERS PARK	39	WILMINGTON PK
2	WEST RIDGE	40	WYDE PARK
3	LOFTOWN	41	WYDE PARK
4	LINCOLN SQUARE	42	WYDE PARK
5	NORTH CENTER	43	SOUTH SHORE
6	LAKEVIEW	44	CHATHAM
7	LINCOLN PARK	45	WYDE PARK
8	NEAR NORTH SIDE	46	SOUTH CHICAGO
9	EDSON PARK	47	BURNSIDE
10	NORWOOD PARK	48	CALHOUN HEIGHTS
11	JEFFERSON PARK	49	ROSELAND
12	FOREST GLEN	50	PULLMAN
13	NORTH PARK	51	SOUTH DEERING
14	ALBANY PARK	52	EAST SIDE
15	PORTAGE PARK	53	WEST PULLMAN
16	SPRING PARK	54	RIVERDALE
17	DUNWICH	55	HEGEMAN
18	MONTCLARE	56	CAMPBELL RIDGE
19	BELMONT CROWN	57	ARCHER HEIGHTS
20	HEMLOCK	58	BRIGHTON PARK
21	ABINGDALE	59	MIRIAM PARK
22	LOGAN SQUARE	60	BRIDGEPORT
23	HUMBOLDT PARK	61	NEW CITY
24	WEST TOWN	62	WEST ELSDON
25	AUSTIN	63	CASE PARK
26	WEST GARFIELD PK	64	CLEARING
27	EAST GARFIELD PK	65	WEST LOMB
28	NEAR WEST SIDE	66	CHICAGO LAMP
29	NORTH LOMBARD	67	WEST CHICAGO
30	SOUTH LOMBARD	68	ENGLEWOOD
31	LOWER WEST SIDE	69	GRACEY GROND CR
32	LOOP	70	ASHBURN
33	NEAR SOUTH SIDE	71	AUBURN GREENSHAW
34	ARMOUR SQUARE	72	RETOY
35	DOUGLAS	73	WASHINGTON HTS
36	CHITLAND	74	MOUNTAIN GREENWOOD
37	FULLER PARK	75	MORGAN PARK
38	GRAND BLVD		



Fig. 3

In only a small number of instances, however, has the executive committee changed amounts recommended by the budget committee.¹

The composition of the boards of the Chicago social agencies should be considered along with the data on the reliance on large gifts in the operation of social agencies which is presented elsewhere. Givers of large amounts are undoubtedly represented in greater proportion than the larger number of small donors, the total of whose contributions is as important as that of the heavy contributors. The lack of representation from some parts of the community which is found in other cities as well, has been questioned by those who feel that this type of control accentuates class lines and is not in keeping with the democratic ideals of social work.²

¹Wayne McMillen, "Joint Financing of Private Social Work in Chicago," Social Service Review, XI (1937), 35, 38-39.

²Cf. Philip Klein, A Social Study of Pittsburgh (New York: Columbia University Press, 1938), pp. 12-13; and Karpf, Jewish Community Organization, op. cit., p. 167. Helen Jeter and M. W. Beckelman, "Future of the Private Field," Social Work Today, VI (May, 1939), 6-7, point out that financial support without adequate representation in the council chamber has threatened in the past both the political and economic fabric of nations, and that the future of private social work is challenged by a new parallel of democracy in the public field.

CHAPTER XV

CONCLUSION

Urban Community Attributes and the Response of Social Work

The complex of organized welfare activities in the Chicago community can be understood as a response to the rapid growth of the city and as a function of its industrial and social characteristics. Not only in the volume and nature of the problems that have come to be recognized is social work in Chicago in large measure a product of urbanization, but also in the fact of organization and in the methods adapted to the impersonal social relationships of urban life. Thus the characteristically urban features of social work are apparent despite the diversity of development in various fields of services.

From the data present conclusions can be drawn with reference to Chicago only. However, inferences may be made about the more general effects of urbanization supported by the evidence of parallel developments in other urban communities which have been cited. Due account must be taken of local differences in location, age, population characteristics, traditions and dominant institutions to explain particular local developments.

Some of the characteristics of urban life, evident in accentuated form in Chicago, have been reviewed in this study and together with other aspects of urbanization may be summarized here before stating the general effects on the development of social work. The typical features of urbanization, as outlined here, apply especially to cities of the western world which have arisen

and grown with industrialization and modern forms of transportation. The largest of such cities have no historical precedent in size and their social characteristics are consequently new in human experience. Wealth has been concentrated in centers of commerce and industry, and the existence of a surplus has made possible expenditures for welfare purposes on a large scale.

Most obviously associated with the very size of an urban community like Chicago is the heterogeneity of population and its density. These characteristics of urban living favor impersonality in human relations in contrast with the familiarity of a folk society. Urban impersonality is accompanied by segmentalized associations between people in place of the sharing of inclusive experiences. More specifically, these characteristics of urban social life account for the relative lack of contact between, and common interests and sympathies on the part of, members of the same urban aggregates. So marked are these impersonal and segmental relations that one hesitates to describe the city as a whole as a community.

Evidence has been cited in some detail of the economic insecurity of workers in Chicago. Low wage levels and irregularities in employment in industry have left large masses of workers with no margin above subsistence needs with which to meet crises of a personal sort or the fluctuations of the economy itself. This insecurity, a product of the industrial organization which is basic to the growth of a large city like Chicago, is aggravated by the sharp contrasts which exist between levels of income and the tendency toward conspicuous consumption in urban centers.

In addition to the economic deprivations and uncertainties there are other need-situations attendant upon the rapid growth of the city, occasioned by the greater physical strain of congested living, the unfamiliarity of persons of foreign and rural

backgrounds with urban ways, and the clash of divergent cultures. It has been common for the newcomers to a city to face the problems of adjustment without the support and counsel of kinsmen and familiar associates, or if they are present to find them equally bewildered, inexperienced, and without economic resources.

Urban living is not entirely restrictive of personal growth, however. With large numbers involved, competition and selective association are possible, resulting in opportunities for elaborate developments of specialized interests and for mutual stimulation by leaders in thought. The city is typically the center of science and learning and the source of leadership in professional knowledge and skill. Another aspect of the same process is the development of interest groups in many fields of activity. Much of the social structure of the urban community is an organization of such specialized groups.

Urban impersonality and tenuous social relations, economic insecurity and maladjustments incident to the rapid growth of the city, with the presence of surplus wealth and vigorous leadership in the specialization of metropolitan life have combined to give occasion and form to organized social work. Since living in large cities makes individuals more interdependent and at the same time more impersonal in their relations with each other, there develops a tendency toward formality and system in social organization. Organized and professionalized social work is a part of this development, a product of impersonality accompanied by interdependence: it is thus an integral part of urban society and not merely an amplification of deep-rooted customs of inter-individual sympathy and kindness. This is not to deny that there are historical antecedents of social work in simpler communities and that some of these survive in the city, but to emphasize its new forms and the

unprecedented occasions for organized assistance.

Village to Metropolis: Mutual Aid to Large Scale Relief

The development of urban forms of social work, as illustrated in the transition from informal mutual aid to large scale organized assistance has been emphasized in this study. Although organized welfare activities are now directed to the relief of more than the elementary physical needs, the provisions for mere subsistence constitute the main stem of historical development and the bulk of community concern today. Chicago in its rapid growth did not have the development of strong traditions of neighborly assistance on a city wide scale. Immigrant groups informally and through mutual aid societies have provided some survivals of primary group ways. Churches as well as politicians, have been active on the local community level, but there is evidence that they have come to rely increasingly on city wide agencies giving relief systematically. The concentration of poverty and disorganization in certain local communities, as indicated by distributions of the relief population in recent years, makes neighborly mutual assistance on the part of people living near each other unreliable and impossible on a large scale; it also means that individuals in a position to help do not come into close and constant personal contact with cases of need. There is also evidence from the experience with old age assistance in recent years of a decline in family responsibility for aged relatives as new governmental programs to meet their needs have developed.

Voluntary, city wide social work organizations, represented by the United Charities of Chicago, whose antecedents go back to 1857, in a period of rapid city growth, are in part the continued expression of old neighborly sentiments and at the same

time the beginnings of characteristically urban efforts to finance and administer social work. There are, however, limits to the simulation of sentiments native to communities dominated by primary groups, even with systematic campaigns to stimulate a sense of personal responsibility expressed through giving to organized charities. Given these limitations on voluntary organized assistance and the potential dangers inherent in the failure to provide relief, an enlargement of public responsibility is virtually inevitable in our kind of society, especially during a severe economic depression such as that of the 1930's.

While public social services have been enlarged in recent decades, relief as a governmental responsibility goes back to the beginnings of local government in Illinois. Here too the contrast between typically rural and urban forms of administration is evident. Thus in small townships outside of Chicago in Cook County, according to a pre-depression study, the officials in charge of poor relief carry on in a less professionalized way than is possible within the city, and in places they reflect neighborly concerns in administering their functions. The administration of large scale relief in Chicago, however, must of necessity be more highly organized and standardized. It may be noted, however, that the administration of relief by townships in Illinois outside of Chicago, which was restored in 1936, makes possible abuses, especially in communities which have become urban.

Rationalization, the Keynote of Modern Social Work

The principal characteristics of the organization of social work under urban conditions, which are evident from this study, are specialization, coordination, and professionalized administration. Specialization, both in method and in type of problem treated, is a product of the volume of services offered

in a large city as well as of the refinements in knowledge and skill which are applied in the practices of social work. In six of the fields of social service having the largest number of agencies today, the oldest agencies now active in Chicago were founded in 1855-1859. This was in a decade of extremely rapid city growth. In the course of time old agencies have diversified their services, but a large part of the specialization in Chicago social work has meant the formation of new agencies.

The necessity for some coordination of social services arises from the development of specialization and also from the need for systematizing the exchange of information and establishing regular procedures if collaboration is to take place in a large city. Much of the coordination which has been achieved depends on voluntary cooperation between agencies and there is never a complete departure from a system of free enterprise. The oldest form of coordination between agencies in Chicago is the Social Service Exchange, whose antecedents go back to 1886. Through the registration of cases under care by each agency duplication of effort could be reduced to a minimum and the knowledge of various agencies pooled in dealing with a particular case. The Subscriptions Investigation Committee of the Association of Commerce, active since 1911, has made cooperation with other agencies one of the tests for endorsement of an agency appealing for public support. The Council of Social Agencies, organized in 1914, has provided constituent agencies a medium for mutual stimulation and planning to avoid duplication of effort and to consider gaps in the community social work program.

The complexity of urban life and the large volume of services to be provided has made for a demand for full-time, specially qualified workers. The demand for trained personnel has been

matched by the development of schools of social work in Chicago and a declining rôle played by volunteer workers. The main professional organization, the American Association of Social Workers, organized nationally in 1921, has a large and active chapter in Chicago. Specialization is apparent also in educational programs preparatory to social work and in specialized professional associations confined to specific fields of social work.

Professional social work has had its task in part defined by urban conditions, but its development was furthered by the scientific habits of thought increasingly used in dealing with social data since the end of the last century. This is apparent in case work, the core of professional practice, where the systematic procedures in diagnosis and record-keeping are a product on the one hand of urban impersonality and anonymity and on the other of knowledge from psychology and social sciences and the application of their attitude of objectivity. This scientific attitude applied to social work has made for a secularization of humanitarianism. The scientific attitude on the part of social workers has been paralleled by the interest of business men, supporters of social work, in administrative efficiency. This combination of purposes has supported the planning phase of community coordination, and the joint fund-raising as carried on by the Community Fund in Chicago, which is conducive to economical operations and centralized control.

The division of labor and the developments of techniques in social work, with the interests in economy and efficiency in administration, are an expression in the field of human relations of the rationalization of modern, industrial life. Thus it has come about that to say that a social worker shows impulsiveness or sentimentality is indulging in opprobrium. The fact that 45 to

70 per cent of the social agencies in various fields in Chicago still do not participate in the Council of Social Agencies is considered an indication of the uneven development of voluntary social work. That the state of Illinois does not have a unified, coordinated public welfare program is regarded an anachronism in the light of national developments.

Control of the Flow of Social Services

The volume and the direction of the flow of social services is controlled in part by the discretion exercised by professional workers in their daily decisions. This effect of their decisions is cumulative and results in the emergence of policies. The flow of services is determined in part also by the joint action of professional and lay leaders in the community planning bodies, guided by scientifically formulated standards. This type of control is best illustrated by the budget-reviewing procedure of the Community Fund which serves as a check on allocation of funds and hence of services between fields of service, between agencies within a field, and within agencies. This is an effective control in Chicago despite the fact that the Community Fund assumes responsibility for not more than half of the member agency's budget.

Besides these more rational controls, there are other means of limiting or redirecting the stream of social services which bear a relationship to urban community structure. The role of givers to voluntary agencies is so obvious that it needs only be mentioned in this connection. This is the case despite systematic campaigns and calculations in fund raising. As compared with other cities, per capita giving is not high in Chicago.

The increase in public responsibility for welfare purposes during the past decade has meant that tax funds bulk extremely

large in the total community expenditures for social work. With the increase in the cost and volume of social services, there has come a sharing of responsibility for welfare functions and some transfer of control of policies to larger units of government. This is especially true of funds for general relief, for which the city is dependent in part on state appropriations, and for work relief, where federal funds furnish the major part of costs, and for old age assistance, where state action is necessary to meet federal requirements for grants-in-aid. Chicago, the metropolitan giant in Illinois, has to contend with traditional rural-urban differences in securing adequate relief appropriations in the state legislature.

Associated with the enlargement of public responsibility has been the growth of pressure groups composed of recipients of relief and specialized forms of public assistance. Their work has been supported and paralleled by humanitarian interests, labor and liberal groups, including the professional association and trade unions among social workers. These activities have been countered by pressures from advocates of economy in government, often working less openly. Competent observers have concluded that relief appropriations in recent years have been larger than they would have been without the activities of client groups. The Townsend groups assert that their main objective is general prosperity with old age pensions serving as the means to this end, but they have been credited with strengthening the movement for security legislation benefiting the aged. It is significant that Illinois has qualified for federal funds for old age assistance, but not for aid to dependent children, which has less formidable political support. The blind pensioners of the state, organized as a pressure group, have been able to block changes in the state

pension law which would be disadvantageous to present recipients. These various pressure groups affect the allocation of funds between welfare categories and also between functions of government. The broader effects of demands for welfare expenditures cannot be estimated, but it can readily be recognized that the competition for public funds may make for considerable unevenness in the course of years in the flow of social services.

The nominal and legal control of private social work is in the hands of boards of directors. Many individuals who have positions on boards are inactive. The board members of social agencies in Chicago in 1937 numbered 4,786, of whom 87 per cent were members of one agency board only. The group is almost equally divided between men and women.

On the basis of an occupational tabulation and residential distribution, it is evident that board membership is highly concentrated among people who live in high rent areas, and among people who are managers, proprietors, financiers, and in the professions. Fourteen areas within the city, inhabited in general by low income groups, have no board members residing there. About 30 per cent of the board members live in the Chicago region outside of the city, mostly in North Shore residential suburbs.

These data lend support to the conclusion that the support and at least the nominal control of private social work is an upper class enterprise, despite the broadening of the base of support through Community Fund employee solicitations and other modern methods of fund raising. Labor groups have recently been led to ask for broader representation in the control of privately supported social work. However, it must be noted that lay leaders of social work participating in central planning organizations have shown an awareness of the needs of the community as a whole.

Even the active supporters of social work who do not participate in formal community planning apparently have some recognition of welfare measures as techniques to insure the preservation of individual morale and social values basic to community stability, which only the most skeptical can say is motivated by the self-interest of the upper class.

The Interplay of Urban Institutions

The shifting functions of social institutions has been indicated in the transfer to city-wide and public relief authorities of much of the actual load of relief formerly carried by families, ethnic groups, political organizations, and churches. In the case of the church a new role has been adopted. A large number of Protestant churches have joined in the demands for adequate relief, accepting aid to those in need as a legitimate function of government. The Catholic church in Chicago has been able to secure for its charities an exceptional status contrary to a generally accepted public policy that tax funds should be expended only by public agencies.

Of major interest is the interplay of institutions within the social work field between voluntary and governmental institutions. To some members of the community this has a significance similar to the conflict between private enterprise in business and enlarging public functions. To others it is merely a question of who can do the job most effectively.

The record of social work development in Chicago indicates that voluntary agencies have been effective in stimulating governmental bodies to enlarge, diversify and professionalize the administration of social services. This has been accomplished both by pioneering in new social work enterprises and methods, and in the exercise of vigilance in the support of standards of

administration of public services. An outstanding example of this has been in the planning for and the advisory relation to the Cook County Bureau of Public Welfare on the part of leading social workers and laymen. Preparatory work for the Juvenile Court of Cook County was done by voluntary groups. A similar interest continued during the first decade of its existence.

On the whole in Chicago there has been close cooperation between public and private agencies, in planning the division of the relief field, for example, and in the recognition by leading private agencies of common interests in standards of administration running through the whole field of social work. This collaboration is in contrast with the situation that has existed in many older urban communities, due partly to the influence of particular leaders and in part to the relative recency of the development of private agencies in this rapidly growing city. Despite the general interest in developing public social services, voluntary agencies have a problem at present of defining their field of operation and restating their appeals for support in view of the enlarged governmental expenditures and the consequent questioning of the role of private enterprise in this field.

The sympathetic interest in public welfare administration by private agency workers and supporters has helped in keeping the administration of relief in Chicago free from partisan politics. The relief administration and the Cook County Bureau of Public Welfare personnel have been selected on the basis of qualifications and permitted to carry on their work without serious interference from political machine functionaries, despite charges during recent political campaigns that the incumbents have played politics with human misery. On the other hand, the enlargement of governmental responsibility for relief and other welfare

services has placed the questions centering around finance and administration in the arena of public discussion and action. In this sense, relief has come to be a major political issue.

Chicago in the National Scene

Leadership has come from Chicago in the nation-wide trend toward professionalization in social work. The settlement pioneers of Chicago have been influential in directing attention to broader questions of social legislation, especially the protection of women, children, and immigrants and to the labor movement. This has helped to give a perspective which is often lacking in close attention to local community needs or the problems of a particular family. Particular social inventions had their origin or first application in Chicago. Of these the Juvenile Court, established in Cook County in 1899, is a leading example.

More exact comparisons between Chicago and other urban communities are available on the basis of studies made on a national scale during the depth of the depression of the 1930's. Large transient relief rolls reflect the position of Chicago as a transportation center. A comparatively high percentage of Negroes on relief in Chicago points to the results of recent migration of people economically insecure. The relief indices show that Chicago somewhat more than other cities felt the effects of the depression. The per capita expenditures for relief in 1932 and 1933 were markedly higher here. The percentage of the population on relief in Chicago in 1933 was comparatively high.

There is evidence of a comparatively more stable relief load in Chicago as compared with other urban communities in the United States, indicated both by the high median duration of unemployment of workers on relief in Chicago and the relatively greater proportion of workers 45 years of age or more on relief

in 1934. Another index of stability of relief load is the ratio of cases closed to the number carried forward. Illinois data indicate a greater turnover in downstate relief loads as compared with Chicago.

Important as measures of relative stability of relief load are for community planning, the evidence of the large numbers affected should be considered. From a pre-depression peak of 12,000 families receiving county relief, the number of cases in Cook County rose to a monthly average of 87,000 in 1936-38. A reliable estimate shows that nearly 29 per cent of the population of Chicago was on relief at some time between 1934 through 1937. From a survey of the Chicago relief population in the early part of 1935, it is evident that many workers with stable previous employment records were receiving public assistance. For workers over 45 years of age, the average for the longest time employed in one position approximates ten years. It is evident that in a severe depression many workers were affected who were not marginally dependent and had thought themselves immune to the relief status. One-fourth of all workers on relief in Chicago in 1935 were unemployed two years or more before applying for relief. This is an indication of the savings and accumulated resources which were available before resort was made to relief.

These data from recent experience testify to the effects of a severe depression in undermining the sense of security of persons whose normal expectations and family organization had been based on the possibility of self support. The mass of such persons must not be overlooked in attention to the possibilities of rehabilitation of the ill-defined category of unemployables. These are the people and the problems which statesmanlike leaders must consider if the city is to be the hope and not the despair of democracy.

